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Jockey and Jenny: English Broadside Ballads and the Invention of Scottishness

Adam Fox

ABSTRACT This essay examines the images of Scots portrayed in English broadside ballads of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. On the one hand, ballads on political themes most often portrayed the “blue caps” of Scotland as traitors and rebels. On the other hand, the wooing ballads of the period promoted an idealized “north country” as backdrop to the amorous adventures of “Jockey” and “Jenny.” Adam Fox argues that the “Scotch” tunes composed for songbooks, plays, and broadsides in London during the late seventeenth century came to be adopted by the popular press in Scotland as it developed over the following generations. As a result, melodies of English provenance were naturalized north of the border and entered the repertoire of “Caledonian airs” that were to become such a defining feature of Scottish culture in the Georgian age. **KEYWORDS:** late seventeenth-century popular music; Scottish stereotypes; Thomas D’Urfey; Martin Parker; cultural influence of ballads

❧ **THROUGHOUT THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF ENGLAND** in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries runs an oscillating but continuous thread of anti-Scots prejudice. The turbulent and often violent encounters that characterized relations between the kingdoms of Britain in this period did much to fan the flames of English hostility. Three principal charges were leveled against the Scots in various combinations at various times. In the first place, they were poverty-stricken beggars who swarmed south seeking to profit from the honors, lands, and titles that flowed from the honeypots of royal patronage and political power. In the second place, they were dissenters from the true Church, traitors to the Crown, and ultimately rebels against the State whose resistance frequently turned to armed insurrection as successively Presbyterians, Covenanters, and then Jacobites. Finally, they were crude barbarians whose strange speech,

Pp. 201–220. ©2016 by Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. ISSN 0018-7895 | E-ISSN 1544-399X. All rights reserved. For permission to photocopy or reproduce article content, consult the University of Pennsylvania Press Rights and Permissions website, <http://www.upenn.edu/pennpress/about/permissions.html>.

peculiar national dress, and boorish manners singled them out for contempt when it did not hold them up to ridicule.¹

These perceptions of the Scots were fabricated and disseminated in all manner of media. Among other forms, invective poetry and polemical prose, comic drama and satirical prints were all employed to this end, evolving and refining a rich vocabulary and a recognizable iconography of Scotophobia.² Within this cultural reaction in England to its often tormented relationship with Scotland, the manuscript libel, playhouse song, and broadside ballad each played a significant part in creating images, forming opinion, and reinforcing prejudice.

Following the union of the crowns in 1603, when many of the Scottish nobility and gentry descended on London, they came to be seen as dominating offices of the king's bedchamber and profiting from the distribution of royal patronage at the expense of English courtiers. Resentment and jealousy spilled out in underground verse:

For now every Scotchman, that lately was wont
To wear the cow hide of an old Scottish runt,
His bonny blue bonnet is now laid aside
In velvet and scarlet proud Jocky must ride.
A begging, A begging . . .³

The epithet "blue bonnet," or "blue cap," was current in late sixteenth-century Scotland as a pejorative for the common people or servile class, and it was employed by Shakespeare in reference to Scottish soldiers. It was the reign of James VI and I in England, however, that seems to have been responsible for establishing its adoption as a derisive term for a Scotsman in general. Similarly, while "Jock" or "Jocky" had a prior history in Scotland as a slighting name for a countryman or rustic, this appears to be the beginning of its long-lived usage in England as a tag for any Scot.⁴

The so-called Bishops' Wars of 1639–40, in which Charles I resorted to military force in a vain attempt to impose the English prayer book north of the border, elicited another torrent of anti-Scottish balladry. This time the printed broadside was its natural medium. About a hundred titles were registered with the Stationers' Company in

1. On eighteenth-century attitudes, see Paul Langford, "South Britons' Reception of North Britons, 1707–1820," in *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1603 to 1900*, ed. T. C. Smout (Oxford, 2005), 143–69.

2. See, for example, E. D. Snyder, "The Wild Irish: A Study of Some English Satires against the Irish, Scots, and Welsh," *Modern Philology* 17 (1920): 689; J. O. Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin, and Sawney: Being an Historical Study of the Earliest Irish, Welsh, and Scottish Characters in English Plays* (Cork, U.K., 1954), chaps. 4, 8, 13; Michael Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner* (Cambridge, 1986), 18–20 and plates 10, 34, 35, 36, 39, 57, 59, 60, 82, 85, 93, 98; and Gordon Pentland, "'We Speak for the Ready': Images of Scots in Political Prints, 1707–1832," *Scottish Historical Review* 90 (2011): 64–95.

3. Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2002), 170. For other examples, see Pauline Croft, "Libels, Popular Literacy, and Public Opinion in Early Modern England," *Historical Research* 68 (1995): 277; John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clark, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1898), 2:4.

4. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.vv. "blue cap," "blue bonnet," "jock," "jockey".

1640, a number of them deriding the “blue caps.” In particular, Martin Parker was the author of, as one hostile newsbook put it, “many base ballads against the Scots.”⁵ Among them, “A True Subjects Wish” deplored how “Jocky with his bonnet blew, / both Crown and Scepter would subdue.”⁶ His “Britaines Honour. In the two Valiant Welchmen, who fought against fifteene thousand Scots” was published in early September 1640, immediately after the humiliation of the English army at Newburn and the loss of Newcastle. A copy was produced by one of the company who were playing cards at the widow Black’s in St. Martin’s Lane the following month, who said it was a “ballad lately printed” that he had “sent into Scotland with other letters where it would make very good sport.”⁷

Other sideswipes in song were made at the rebellious blue caps during the 1640s and 1650s, including “The Turne of Time,” of about 1648, and “Jockies Lamentation,” licensed to Francis Grove in 1657, and still being printed for Wright, Clarke, Thackeray, and Passinger in the early 1680s. The Scots’ crowning of Charles II at Scone in January 1651, in return for his agreement to their terms, aroused particular ire south of the border. The broadside ballad “Articles of Agreement betwixt Prince Charles and the Parliament of Scotland” was one response. Another was the satirical print *Old Sayings and Predictions Verified and Fulfilled*, which depicts a Scots Presbyterian minister holding Charles’s nose to a grindstone while one of his countrymen turns the handle. Above the image a verse begins: “I Jockey turne the stone of all your plots, / For none turnes faster then the turne-coat Scots.” Traces of the contemporary hand coloring on the British Museum copy still reveal the blue hue in which Jockey’s cap was rendered.⁸

Another flurry of anti-Scottish balladry was prompted by the murder of James Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews, in May 1679 at the hands of radical Presbyterians. Soon afterward, some eight thousand covenanters in the southwest of Scotland rose up against the regime of Charles II.⁹ The English army, led by the Duke of Monmouth, joined by local forces under Sir John Graham of Claverhouse, defeated the rebels at the battle of Bothwell Bridge in June.¹⁰ It would be more than a year, however, before the

5. C. H. Firth, “Ballads on the Bishops’ Wars, 1638–40,” *Scottish Historical Review* 3 (1906): 257–73 at 262; *Cavalier and Puritan: Broad-sides and Ballads Illustrating the Period of the Great Rebellion 1640–1660*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins (New York, 1923), 7–10, 83–106.

6. Martin Parker, “A True Subjects Wish,” Bodleian Library, Oxford (hereafter Bod Lib), Wood 401(141) and Harding B 39(59).

7. Bod Lib, Wood 401(131); Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700* (Oxford, 2000), 398.

8. “The Turne of Time” (1648?), Henry E. Huntington Library (hereafter HEH), 180181, EBBA 32398; “Jockies Lamentation,” Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge (hereafter PL), Pepys 4.345, EBBA 22008; “Articles of Agreement betwixt Prince Charles and the Parliament of Scotland,” in *Cavalier and Puritan*, ed. Rollins, 309–14; *Old Sayings and Predictions Verified and Fulfilled* (London, 1651), British Museum, 1849,0315.30.

9. “The Manner of the Barbarous Murther of James, Late Lord Arch-bishop of St. Andrews” (London: J. S. and B. H., 1679), HEH, 183927, EBBA 32435.

10. “Monmouth and Bucleugh’s Welcome from the North: or the Loyal Protestants Joy for his Happy Return” (1679), HEH, 135957, EBBA 32357; “The New Scotch Ballad: Call’d Bothwell-Bridge: or, Hamilton’s Hero” (1679), Houghton Library, Harvard University, EBB65, EBBA 35022.

continued threat posed by the radical Cameronian faction was finally suppressed. Loyal songs denouncing the challenge of “Jack Presbyter” north of the border, no less than the machinations of “popish plotters” to its south, were a prominent feature of broadside publications in the late 1670s and early 1680s. Thus “The Scotch Rebellion”:

Those villains who have the Arch-Bishop slain
For certain are got amongst this train
Then let us march on with might & with main.
with a fa [la la la la lero].
We’ll make the proud Rebels for to rue
As sure as their bonnets are made of blew,
Since that they are such a bloody crew.
with a fa la la la, la lero.¹¹

In turn, the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 unleashed successive waves of invective against the Scots in which the printed ballad proved a powerful weapon in the battle of opinion.¹² Now the insurgents were less liable in English eyes to be tarred with the brush of Presbyterianism and more likely to be tainted by association with the threat of popery. Loyalty to the House of Stuart in the form of support first for the “Old Pretender” and then for “Bonnie Prince Charlie,” both Catholics in exile at the French court, raised again the specter of the “auld alliance” between Scotland and the papist French. Thus, rebellion in north Britain brought with it the fear of invasion from across the Channel by England’s greatest of enemies.¹³ As one single-sheet song of 1746 put it:

The Scots, as the Swiss, making Fighting a Trade,
(For ever betraying, for ever betray’d)
Like the Frogs, sick of Log, chuse a King of their own;
’Twill ne’er out of the Flesh what is bred in the Bone.¹⁴

Across the period, the broadside ballad took its place in a spectrum of cultural production that by turns condemned, derided, and ridiculed the Scots as rebels,

11. “The Scotch Rebellion” (1662–91), Bod Lib, Ballads 2 (192a). For a similar example, see “Jockey’s Downfall: A Poem” (1679), British Library (hereafter BL), C.20.f.4(106). Among the many ballads denouncing the cabals, plots, and divisions in England at this time, see “A New Ballad. Jockey’s Journey into England, in the Year, 1681” (1681), BL, C.20.f.4(105); “The Loyal Scot; An Excellent New Song” (1682), HEH, 135881, EBBA 32315; “The Ballad of the Cloak; or, The Cloak’s Knavery” (1679–82?), Bod Lib, Wood 417(4).

12. For ballads against the rebels of 1715, see, for example, “The Jacobites Exultation upon Their Conceiv’d Hopes of the Present Plot” (1715?), National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Crawford.EB.892, EBBA 33757; and “The Clans Lamentation” (1715?), BL, Roxburghe 3.336, EBBA 31057. Anti-Jacobite examples surrounding the ’45 include “[A] New Song of the Warrs” (London? 1744?), and “The Loyal Briton: or, George for Ever” (1744?) (both at BL, Roxburghe 3.753); “An Excellent Song on the Present Times, by a Country Hind” (1745?), HEH, 321580:11; and “The Warming-pan, a Loyal Song” (1745?), NLS, Blk.735.

13. Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner*, plates 34, 35, 39.

14. “Arms and the Man, I Sing” (1746?), NLS, L.C.Fol.76(126).

traitors, and barbarians. Long before this form of xenophobia reached altogether new heights during the premiership of the Earl of Bute in the early 1760s, images of Scots as, by turns, beggarly opportunists, sectarian rebels, and uncivilized peasants were well embedded in the English psyche. In helping to render poor “Jockey” or “Sawny” immediately recognizable to an English audience, with his blue bonnet, strange dialect, and vulgar manners, the song on a single sheet made its contribution.



Despite this antipathy towards the Scots, however, and the derogatory portrayal of them in both political propaganda and popular entertainment, there were other dimensions to the contemporary English perception of Scotland and its people. One discernable element, particularly within the metropolitan culture of the seventeenth century, was the sentimental evocation of an imagined “north” and a developing vogue for things “Scotch.” Perhaps the greater intrusion of Scotland into English affairs during this period, and the heightened exposure of Londoners to the Scots themselves, did something to insinuate a more benign image of the northern kingdom into sensibilities to the south. Onto a remote and largely unknown Caledonia could be projected an illusion of otherness that fulfilled some emotional need. In a rapidly changing world, it conjured the impression of antiquity; for an urbanizing people it represented a pastoral idyll; and to an increasingly sophisticated society, it proffered a reminder of lost innocence. Such sentiments help to explain the extraordinary and enduring appeal of such ballads as “Chevy Chase” and “Johnny Armstrong,” to appreciate why Pepys could take such “perfect pleasure” in hearing Mrs. Knipp sing “her little Scotch song of Barbary Allen,” and to understand why Dryden might compare the same “rude sweetness” to be found in Chaucer with that of a “Scotch tune.”¹⁵

The broadside ballad caught this mood and contributed to this fantasy. Typical was “The Lovely Northern Lasse,” which appeared in 1632. It was a young maid’s song from the hills of Liddesdale in Roxburghshire, set “To a pleasant Scotch tune, called, The broom of Cowdon knowes.”¹⁶ Printed by Francis Coules at the Old Bailey, it was one of a number of wooing ballads issued by Coules and his contemporaries with a “northerne” setting, or put to a “new northerne tune.” By the civil war, this imagined “north country” was firmly established as a backdrop to amatory themes.¹⁷ The events of midcentury added new dimensions to the trope. In “The North-Country Maids

15. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England*, 1–5; Ian Spink, “Music and Society,” in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain*, vol. 3, *The Seventeenth Century*, ed. Spink (Oxford, 1992), 6.

16. *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557–1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins (1924; repr., Hatboro, Pa., 1967), nos. 1579 and 1695; “The Lovely Northern Lasse” (1624–80?), BL, Roxburghe 1.190–191, EBBA 30133; and University of Glasgow Library (hereafter UGL), Euing 166, EBBA 31921; Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1966), 69–70.

17. See, for example, “A New Ballad of the Souldier and Peggy: To a new Northerne Tune” (1624–80?), Roxburghe 1.370, EBBA 30250; “A New Little Northern Song Called, Under and Over, Over and Under” (1631), PL, Pepys, 1.264–265; EBBA 20122; “The Northerne Turtle” (1628?), PL, Pepys 1.372; EBBA 20021.

Resolution,” for example, set “To a pleasant new Northern Tune,” a “blithe and bonny Lass, / Who in the Scottish Army was,” pledges her love to a “Cavaliero blade.”¹⁸

Such works depicted “blue cap” not as a rebel but as an object of desire. In March 1634, for instance, Thomas Lambert registered the ballad “Blew Cap for Me.” It tells of “a Scottish lasse” who is wooed successively not only by an Englishman, a Welshman, and an Irishman, but also by a Frenchman, a Spaniard, a German, a Dutchman, and sundry others. She refuses them all, however, in favor of “bonny blew-cap.” One woodcut adorning the broadside, perhaps made for this publication, gives an early depiction of a Scotsman with a flat bonnet on his head (fig. 1). The accompanying refrain may also have been original, for it was described as “a curious new Scottish tune called Blew-cap.”¹⁹ Whatever its novelty, the tune did not remain “curious” for long. In May, Lambert entered another composition set to it, Martin Parker’s “Robin and Kate,” also a love ballad situated “Farre in the North Countrey.” By December, Parker was employing the refrain again, this time for “The Good Fellowes Best Beloved,” printed for John Wright junior.²⁰ It is hardly surprising that Parker should also adopt the tune “Blue Cap for Me” for at least one of his anti-Scottish works of 1640: a pamphleteer scurrilously remarked that Archbishop Laud would “have it chang’d to *Black cap that’s his fee*.”²¹

Just as every “blue cap” had his “lovely northern lass,” so every “Jockey” had his “Jenny.” The history of this pair goes back at least to the mid-sixteenth century when a ballad of their courtship and marriage was transcribed into the notebook of the minstrel Richard Sheale. Its author was John Wallis (“finys quoth Wallys”), and the text was possibly transcribed from a printed broadside, now lost. Certain words such as “mickle” and “muckle” suggest a northern English or southern Scottish provenance, or perhaps the attempt to imitate one:

Our Jockye sale haue our Jenny hope I
our Jocky sale haue our Jenny
I am well able for to say
our Jocky sal haue our Jenny.²²

18. “The North-Countrey Maids Resolution” (1623–61), UGL, Euing 257, EBBA 31814.

19. *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries*, ed. Rollins, no. 219; BL, Roxburghe 1.20–21; Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 44–45. The first printing of the tune was in John Playford’s *The English Dancing Master* (London, 1651), 2.

20. *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries*, ed. Rollins, nos. 2304, 1017; “Robin and Kate” (1633–69?), BL, Roxburghe 1.354–355, EBBA 30241; “The Good Fellowes Best Beloved” (1634–58?), BL, Roxburghe 1.516–517, EBBA 30346.

21. *Cavalier and Puritan*, ed. Rollins, 10; BL, Huth 50(67); *Rump: or an Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems and Songs relating to the Late Times* (London, 1662), 8–9. See also Parker’s “A Paire of Turtle Doves, or, A dainty new Scotch Dialogue between a Yong-man and his Mistress” (1633–69?), BL, Roxburghe 1.320–321, EBBA 30220.

22. Bod Lib, MS Ashmole 48, fols. 72–75; and see Hyder H. Rollins, “Concerning MS Ashmole 48,” *Modern Language Notes* 34 (1919): 345; Andrew Taylor, *The Songs and Travels of a Tudor Minstrel: Richard Sheale of Tamworth* (York, U.K., 2012), 95–96.

This work may have been the same as “A Ballad of Jockey and Jenney,” entered in the Stationers’ Register to Jonathan Trundle in December 1615, although no copy survives. Thereafter, the couple continued to enjoy a long and fruitful career. The civil war encouraged the theme of sorrowful maidens bidding adieu to their battle-bound lovers, and Jockey and Jenney fitted these roles perfectly. “Jenny’s lamentation with her berne at her back,” licensed in 1657 but also no longer extant, might well have been in this vein.²³

It was the last quarter of the seventeenth century, however, that witnessed the high point of the vogue for things “Scotch.” This phenomenon was part of a remarkable musical efflorescence in late Stuart England that saw the London theater, music publishing, and the broadside ballad trade in a complementary and reciprocally enriching relationship.²⁴ The last five years of Henry Purcell’s life up to 1695, during which he was writing for the stage, coincided with the period when his friend, the playwright and composer Thomas D’Urfey, was at the height of his powers. The Restoration stage had developed an obsession with musical interludes, and both men contributed to its crescendo. D’Urfey’s *The Fool Turn’d Critick* of 1678 was the first play in England to have the music for its songs actually printed in the text.²⁵ One feature of this fashion was a tendency to exploit the appetite for “northern” airs almost gratuitously. When the heroine in Aphra Behn’s *The City Heiress* (1682) pretends to be a “northern lass,” she naturally bursts into a Scottish song. Seven plays printed between 1665 and 1698, mostly by D’Urfey, include “Scotch” ballads despite the fact that they contain no Scottish characters.²⁶

By the end of the century, some of these songs, whether theatrical in origin or not, were appearing for sale as single-sheet songs with engraved music suitable for recorder or transverse flute. Such was D’Urfey’s “A Scotch Song in the Last New Play, Sung by Mrs. Cross,” issued in 1696, and Purcell’s “A Scotch Song Sung by the Girl,” from the same year.²⁷ The printing of broadside scores for instrumental as well as oral performance at home was paralleled by the similar development of the songbook. Popular compilations of airs in the 1690s included John Playford’s *Apollo’s Banquet* (1690), Thomas Cross’s *Synopsis Musicae* (1693), and the first volume of *Wit and Mirth: or, Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1699), printed for Henry Playford.

23. *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries*, ed. Rollins, nos. 1291, 1280; and see Bod Lib, Wood E 25(91); Bod Lib, 40 Rawl. 566(133).

24. W. Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (London, 1893), 621–24; John Harley, *Music in Purcell’s London: The Social Background* (London, 1968), chap. 8; Spink, “Music and Society,” 9–23; Cyprian Blagden, “Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century,” *Studies in Bibliography* 6 (1954): 161–80.

25. *Oxford DNB*, s.vv. “D’Urfey, Thomas (1653?–1723),” by Jonathan Pritchard, last modified 2004, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/8313, and “Purcell, Henry (1659–1695),” by Robert Thompson, last modified 2004, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/22894; Ian Spink, *English Song; Dowland to Purcell* (London, 1974), 184–200.

26. Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin, and Sawney*, 149.

27. For similar engraved scores, see “A Scotch Song Sung at Tunbridge Set to Musick by Mr. Ackroyd” (London? 1698) and “A Scotch Song Written and Composd by Mr. Richard Brown” (London? 1700?).

90.

Blew Cap for me.

OR,
A Scottish Lassie her resolute chusing
Shee'l have bonny blew-cap, all other refusing.
To a curious new Scottish tune called Blew-cap.




Come hither the merriest of all the nine,
come sit thee down by me and let us be toly,
And in a full cup of Apollo's wine,
We'll drown our old enemy mad melancholy:
Which when we have done,
We'll betwixt us deuil
A dainty new dittie,
With art to compile,
And of this new dittie,
The matter shall be,
Gif ever I have a man,
Blew-cap for me.

There lides a blithe Lassie in Faulkland towne,
and shee had some suitors I wot not how many,
But her resolution she had set downe,
that she'd haue a Blew-cap gif ere she had any:
An English man
when our good King was there,
Came often vnto her
and loued her deere:
But still she replide, Sir,
I pray let me be,
Gif ever I haue a man,
Blew-cap for me.

A Welch man that had a long sword by her side,
red patches, red Tacket red Coat, & red Beard,
was make a great show with a great deal of pride
and tell her strange tale that the like was nere
seen: racken her pedigree,
long before Princes,

No body was by her
that can her confute:
But still she replide, Sir,
I pray let me be,
Gif ever I haue a man,
Blew-cap for me.

A French-man that largely was booted and spurred,
long lock't, with a ribbon, long points and breeches,
Was ready to kille her at every word,
and for further exercise his fingers itches
You be pritty wench
Spit it, par ma foy,
We gar me doe loue you,
then be not you coy:
But still she replide, Sir,
I pray let me be,
Gif ever I haue a man,
Blew-cap for me.

An Irish man with a long streamer in his hole,
did thinke to obtaine her it was no great matter,
Up staires to her chamber so lightly he goes,
that she ne're heard him until he came at her:
Quoth he I doe loue you,
by fate and by frote,
And if you will hate me,
experience shall shote:
But still she replide, Sir,
I pray let me be,
Gif ever I haue a man,
Blew-cap for me.

FIGURE 1. "Blew Cap for Me" (1633?), Roxburghe, 1.20-21, EBBA 30022. Post-photographic processing by EBBA. © The British Library Board, C.20.f.7.20-21.

The second part.

To the same tune.



A Dainty spouse Spangard with haire black as sett,
long cloak with round cape, a long Raper & Ponyard
Hee told her if that she could Scotland forget,
he'd shew her the Tines as they growe in the Wineyard.
If thou wilt abandon
this Countrey so cold,
Nethew this faire Spaine,
and much Indian gold,
But still the replide, Sir,
I pray let me be,
Gif ever I have a man,
Blew-cap for me.

A haughty high German of Hamborough towne,
a proper tall gallant with mighty mullachoes:
Hee weapes if the Lassie upon him doe but scowne,
yet he's a great fencer that comes to ope match vs.
But yet all his fine fencing
could not get the Lassie,
Hee deny'd him so oft,
that hee wearyed was:
For still the replide, Sir,
I pray let me be,
Gif ever I have a man,
Blew-cap for me.

A Netherland Partner there came by chance,
whose cheekes did resemble two rolling Pomwaters:
To this Canny Lassie he his sute did advance,
and as taught by nature he cunningly matters:
Hee will make thee, said he,
sole Lady o' th' sea,
Both Spaniards and Englishmen
shall thee obey,



But still the replide, Sir,
I pray let me be,
Gif ever I have a man,
Blew-cap for mee.

These sundry Suitors of severall Lands,
did daily sollicite this Lassie for her favour,
And every one of them alike under stands
that to win the prize they in vaine did endeavour.
For she had resolved
(as I before said)

To have none but Blew-cap,
or else bee a maid.
Unto an her supplicants
still replide she,
Gif ever I have a man,
Blew-cap for mee.

At last came a Scottissh man (with a blew-cap)
and hee was the party for whom she had carry'd
To get this blithe bonny Lassie thens his gude hap,
they gang'd to the Kirk & were presently marry'd.
I ken not werele whether
it were he or I heard,
They caude him some like
a like name as I heard,
To chuse him from an,
she did glablie agrée.
And still she cride Blew-cap
th'art welcome to mee.

FINIS.

Printed at London for Thomas Lambert.

Side by side with the stage performance, the single-sheet score, and the song-book went the broadside ballad. Music and lyrics migrated promiscuously between these media to their mutual benefit. A remarkable instance was the “Scotch tune” “Jenny Gin,” which was first composed for a song in Behn’s *City Heiress* in 1682 and subsequently adopted on some thirty-six broadside ballads over the following decade.²⁸ Many other broadside ballad sheets carrying Scottish themes were beneficiaries of this infusion from the stage. Typical was “Jockey and Jenney: or, The Scotch Courtship,” “To a pleasant new Scotch Tune, Sung in the Play of *The Three Dukes of Dunstable*.”²⁹

Thus, Jockey and Jenny became the eponymous heroes of dozens of surviving broadside ballads in late Stuart England. They must have become familiar figures to the audience, who no doubt eagerly awaited the next installment of the couple’s on-going courtship (fig. 2). In the late 1660s or 1670s, “The New Scotch-Jigg: or, The Bonny Cravat” was followed with “The Second Part of the new Scotch-Jigg: or, Jenny’s Reply.”³⁰ Sawny was soon introduced as a rival for Jenney’s affections. Here again, this was not Sawny in his familiar guise as rebel or barbarian, but as ardent admirer. In “The Scotch Lasses Constancy,” the “two bonny lads” Jockey and Sawny fight a duel over the object of their affections. The popularity of this piece is suggested by the fact that no fewer than seven examples of it survive in various collections.³¹ Its success was clearly maximized by a series of related productions: “Jennies Answer to Sawny” appeared in the same year, while “The Scottish Lasses Complaint for Sawny’s Unkindness,” to the tune of “Sawny will ne’r be my love again,” is of similar date, as is “All for Love, or, The Happy Match Betwixt Jockey and Jenny” (fig. 3), to the tune of “Sawny and Jockey.”³²

Other figures were woven into this cast of “northern” characters, such as Willy and Jemmy, and Nanny and Peggy. Most resonant of all was Moggy. The civil war era appears to have thrown up Moggy as an English name for a young Scots woman, and the broadside ballads of the late seventeenth century were probably responsible for impressing it in popular consciousness. By the time Ned Ward referred in the late 1690s to “a parcel of [Scotch] pedlars and their Moggies, dancing a Highlanders Jig,” the identification was clearly well established in the minds of a London audience.³³

28. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, xiv, 379–82. Behn’s stage song was expanded into two broadside ballad versions: “The Loves of Jockey and Jenny” (1682?), PL, Pepys 4.110, EBBA 21774, and “Jockey’s Lamentation Turn’d into Joy” (1671–1702?), BL, Roxburghe 4.18, EBBA 30919.

29. “Jockey and Jenney: or, The Scotch Courtship” (1689–92?), PL, Pepys 5.35, EBBA 22253; see also “The Longing Virgins Choice” (1672–96?), NLS, Crawford.EB.183, EBBA 33111; and “An Excellent New Scotch Song, Call’d, Jockey’s Compliant” (1675–96?), PL, Pepys 5.263, EBBA 22098.

30. Bod Lib, Douce 2 (164a) and Douce 2 (200a).

31. Narcissus Luttrell bought the Huntington Library’s copy on March 18, 1682: “The Scotch Lasses Constancy” (1682), HEH, 135872, EBBA 32312.

32. “Jennies Answer to Sawny” (1672–96?), BL, Roxburghe 2.223, EBBA 30684; Bod Lib, Douce 2 (206b); Bod Lib, Douce 1 (4a); “All for Love, or, The Happy Match Betwixt Jockey and Jenny” (1672–96?), NLS, Crawford.EB.125, EBBA 32807.

33. *OED*, s.v. “moggie.”

Again, the serialization of Moggy's fortunes on a single sheet suggests both the cause and the effect of her success. "Scotch Moggy's Misfortune" from the 1680s survives in a total of eight copies.³⁴ It was followed around 1690 by "An Answer to Moggy's Misfortune," of which four known examples are extant.³⁵

In addition to such emblematic Christian names, which immediately identified ballads as having Scottish themes, the language that they adopted helped to create their distinctive voice. Like everything else about these compositions, it was a stylized fiction owing nothing to the Scots tongue or people as they may have been and everything to the conventions of an invented literary genre. This was the imagined Scots of the jest-book, play, and broadside ballad, and nothing more than a vehicle for satire or romance.³⁶ In the imaginary repertoire of these works, Jennys and Moggys were always *bonny* and *blithe*; Jockeys and Sawneys likely to be *lively* or *dawdy*; girls were *lasses* and boys were *loons*. In ballad Scots, *Ise* was habitually used for *I*, *gin* for *if*, and *lig* for *live*, while there was plenty of *mickle* and *muckle* in place of *much*. The balladeer's vocabulary ran to *kens* for *knows* and *gang* for *go*, to *twa* for *two* and *eyne* for *eyes*. Pronunciation could be suggested in a number of spellings: *anely* for *only*; *awe* for *all*; *fause* for *false*; *guid* for *good*; *mere* for *more*; and *wese* for *was*. Typical was a stanza from "A New Song of Moggie's Jealousie":

Where art thou ganging my moggy?
and where art thou ganging my Dove
And woot thou go from thy poor jockey,
and so dearly that he does love?
Ise ganging to fair Edenborough,
to spir for a Lad that is true;
And if I return not to morrow,
then Jockey Ise bid thee adieu.³⁷

In addition to their proper names and their vocabulary, what marked out these works as "Scottish," and over time made them recognizable as such to an English audience, were the tunes that evoked an imagined Caledonia in the minds of their metropolitan consumers. Some involved what came to be known as the "Scotch snap"—a short note on the beat followed by a long one off it—which has been considered a characteristic of Scottish folk song ever since.³⁸

Many of the popular composers of the late seventeenth century contributed melodies in this mode, often intended for the theater or the songbook before finding their way onto the ballad sheet. Perhaps the biggest contribution in this context was

34. "Scotch Moggy's Misfortune" (1675–96?), NLS, Crawford.EB.1045, EBBA 33786; PL, Pepys 3.288; EBBA 21303.

35. "An Answer to Moggy's Misfortune" (1675–96?), NLS, Crawford.EB.805, EBBA 33270.

36. Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney*, 91–92, 161.

37. "A New Song of Moggie's Jealousie" (1671–1702?), BL, Roxburghe 2.358, EBBA 30798.

38. *The Oxford Companion to Music*, ed. Percy A. Scholes, 10th ed. (London, 1970), 934–35.

The Scotch Wooing: Or,

JOCKEY of the Lough, and JENNY of the Lee:

Jockey Wooes Jenny, for to be his Dear,
But Jenny long time is in mickle fear;
Least Jockey should be false or prove unkind,
But Jockey put that quite out of her mind,
So that at length they fairly did agree,
To strike a Bargain up, as you shall see.

To the Tune of, Jockey's gone to the Wood.



DEar jockey's gone to the Wood
and Dame jenny's gone twa,
Dear jockey would Court a good,
but Dame jenny says nay:
Come jenny my dearest love,
prhee jenny fancy me:
Thou art the blithest bonniest Girl,
and the featest Lads,
that e're jockey's ey'n see.

When Jockey had woo'd her thus,
he said prhee forbear,
Thou Jockey art false I fear,
and would Jenny inhare:

Dear Jenny believe it not,
that thy Jockey is untrue,
For I do swear by all that's good,
In this pleasant Wood,
and by Bonnet that's Blew.

O Jocky shame saw thy Luggs,
for telling like a Tale,
It is not all thy honey words,
are like for to prevail:
For Jenny is a harmless Lass,
fearing for to be trappan'd,
Although thou art a Lad,
But I had,

FIGURE 2. "The Scotch Wooing: or, Jockey of the Lough, and Jenny of the Lee" (1672–96?), Crawford.EB.302, EBBA 32757. Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland.



M^y Jenny ne'r make a Din,
but let us gang play,
Since that thou art so neat and
upon this Holliday : (trim
I'll give thee ale and spiced cakes,
I, and love thee tenderly,
There we have a merry bout,
And keep a Revel Rout,
under the Greenwood Tree.

Dear Jockey I like it weel,
a little sport to make,
Yet do I fear that after all,
poor Lenny's heart sud ake :
I wad not for a score of pounds,
I should come unto disgrace,
Then prithee Jockey get the gone,
and leave thy Jenny all alone,
in this uncouth place.

O Jenny ne'r tell me that,
thy Jockey's like a Loon,
Thou need'st not for to be a fraid,
by Jockey to lig down :
For as I am a lively Lad,
meaning to thee honestly,
I'll give thee nothing that is bad,
But the best that can be had,
as Jenny shall see.

O Jockey sud I beleave,
'tis sure what you say,
And that you sud your Jenny leave,
and basely gang away :
My Jenny I'll plight my Troth,
ever to thee to be true,

Then beleave me what I say,
For I scorn to gang a way,
to make my Jenny rue.

Why sud I not now beleave,
when dear Jockey does swear,
By Bonnet and aw that's good,
that e're Jockey shall wear ?
Then let us gang beam my dear,
and be merry there a while,
I love the heartily my joy,
Thou art the onely Boy,
on whom Jenny shall smile.

My Jenny thou chear'st my heart,
to give thy consent,
Thy Jockey will never start,
but give Jenny content :
A Trenchmore Galliard we will
all for joy this very night, chade
And it's morn we'll gang toth' Kirk
Where I'll see my Jenny smick,
as soon as day light.

Thus Jockey and Lenny beath,
agreed for to be wed ;
For Jockey he thought it long
to have Jenny in Bed :
Next morning to the Kirk they
finely wedded for to be, (went
And at this time are man & wife,
Living free and void of strife,
in their own Country.

FINIS.

Printed for P. Brooksby, at the Golden-
ball, in West-Smithfield.





FIGURE 3. "All for Love, or, the Happy Match Betwixt Jockey and Jenny" (1672–96?), Crawford.EB.125, EBBA 32807. Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland.

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Jockey protested and swore by his Maker,
 For better or worse he resolv'd for to take her,
 For rich or poor, still thou art the Creature
 In sickness or health, then try my good nature;
 Thou art the fairest,
 Ay, and the rarest
 Of the world, that I love the dearest,
 Then do not deny me,
 But sit thee down by me,
 For if you prove coy then you will destroy me.
 For Oxen and Sheep (quoth Jockey) I've plenty,
 And Jenny the wight where he'd one he had twenty;
 Coin and old hay, and choice of good Bedding,
 A warm Countrey house, and all fit for a Wedding,
 Then let's not tarry,
 But go and marry,
 And of my Wealth the Keys thou shalt carry;
 Nothing is wanting,
 Then never be scanting
 Of what is our own, nor spend it in ranting.
 Jenny she told him she had little treasure,
 But all that was hers should be at his pleasure,
 Tho' I am but young (quoth she) I am wary,
 And all my life long have been byed in a Dairie;
 And if Jockey love me
 He shall approve me
 To be a Wife in all that he loves me,
 No one shall never
 Make it to her endeavour
 To make Jockey love her for ever and ever.
 So they shook hands and struck up a bargain,
 And Jockey took Jenny without e're a farthing;
 Jockey was pleas'd and so was his Jenny,
 To buy her a Ring he gave her a Guinney,
 And bid her wear it,
 And never spare it,
 For he had Gold enough for to bear it;
 Jockey was killing,
 And Jenny was willing;
 The joys of their hearts was beyond all expressing.
 The next Holy-day this couple must marry,
 But neither was pleas'd so long for to tarry;
 Many a kiss and such pretty doing
 Betwixt them did pass, but no more of wooing;
 Jenny was willing
 To be a killing,
 But nothing else for forty good killing;
 When they were marry'd,
 As matters were carry'd,
 Poor Jockey was first that e'en'd he was weary'd.
 Printed for P. Brooksby in West Smithfield.



made by Thomas D'Urfey. In a prolific career that encompassed thirty-two plays and more than five hundred songs, he was responsible for a huge quantity of Scotchified material. It is noteworthy that a man who spent a professional career of almost fifty years in London, and apparently never stirred from the south of England, should have had such a big influence on the perception of Scotland among his countrymen. Among the tunes for which he seems to have been responsible and which went on to enjoy widespread currency on a single sheet were "Bonny Kate of Edinburgh" and "Sawney and Jockey," both composed in 1682, "Donny Dundee" of about 1684, and "Valiant Jockey" of 1689. His general practice, however, was to write lyrics to the melodies of others. The resulting compositions were often then expanded into broadside ballads and the tunes greatly popularized as a result. "In January Last," to which he set "A Scotch Song" in a play of 1677, was one such air: it was subsequently adopted on at least five different broadsides in the years immediately following.³⁹

In 1719–20 D'Urfey edited the popular anthology *Pills to Purge Melancholy* in an expanded six volumes. The first two of these were filled entirely with works in which he had had a hand. This and similar compilations aided the transmission of many "Scotch" songs from the later Stuart era into the Georgian age.⁴⁰ At the same time, the enormous success of the ballad opera in the first half of the eighteenth century provided another vehicle for recycling the contents of the cheap print of earlier generations. In combination with these overlapping cultural forms, therefore, the broadside ballad played a significant part in fabricating and disseminating a certain image of Scottishness in early modern England. As much as any other medium, it was instrumental in satisfying the romantic and sentimental tastes of contemporary English audiences for a fantasy of the "north country."



If the broadside ballad played an important role in creating an image of Scotland in the minds of English audiences, what is perhaps more surprising is that it also had a notable influence in generating a sense of cultural identity among the Scots themselves. Part of the reason for this lies in the development of the market for broadside ballads in Scotland. From the last two decades of the seventeenth century, at the very time when the London craze for things "Scotch" was reaching its height, Edinburgh publishing was expanding and diversifying in formative ways. A new generation of young printers was beginning to break free from the monopolies and regulations that had constrained the industry hitherto, and to transform the size and range of the Scottish press. The decades on either side of the Act of Union in 1707 represented an innovative and expansive era in which new content in popular formats was added to the rather small and limited output that had always characterized the trade.

39. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 53–54, 630–32, 49–51, 733–34, 365–67.

40. *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 6 vols. (London, 1719–20), vols. 1–2.

In late seventeenth-century Edinburgh, the activities of “the Dutch printing house” operated briefly by Lindsay, Solingen, and Colmar, together with the output of such printers as Agnes Campbell and John Reid, helped to usher in a new era. In the next generation, Reid’s daughter Margaret and his nephew John junior, together with James Watson and Robert Brown, John Moncur, and Robert Fleming, among others, built upon this foundation. As a result, the nation started to generate a secular ephemeral literature of its own, which included broadside ballads and last dying speeches, chapbooks and newspapers. At first, however, much of this production relied on pirating well-known titles from the London market, and in this way, English material entered circulation north of the border.⁴¹

Thus, “The Maiden-Warrier,” a song written by D’Urfey on the occasion of the battle of Killiecrankie in 1689 and set to the tune “Valiant Jockey,” was expanded as a broadside ballad soon afterward and as such was clearly a great success in London. But we find it published on a single sheet in Edinburgh around 1700 as “Valiant Jockie, or the Maiden Warriour.”⁴² Similarly, “An Excellent New Scotch Song, Call’d, The Bonny Grey-Ey’d Morn; or, Jockey Rous’d with Love,” one of the many elaborations of an English stage song produced as a London broadside ballad (in 1697) was reprinted in Edinburgh sometime during the second decade of the eighteenth century, probably by John Reid junior.⁴³

In other cases, although new lyrics were written for ballads in the emerging Scottish market, they were set to “Scotch tunes” actually composed in England over the previous generation. Such was the case with the famous melody “Over the Hills and Far Away.” This tune is named after a line in “The Wind Hath Blown My Plaid Away,” a black-letter ballad of about 1680 collected by Pepys. It appears again in the 1706 edition of *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, where it accompanies the ballad “Jockey’s Lamentation.” Meanwhile, in Edinburgh, John Reid junior was printing a different work to the same air, “An Excellent New Ballad. He’s Or’e the Hills and Far Away, to Its Own Proper New Tune.”⁴⁴

41. On these developments, see Adam Fox, “The Emergence of the Scottish Broadside Ballad in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 31 (2011): 169–94; Fox, “‘Little Story Books’ and ‘Small Pamphlets’ in Edinburgh, 1680–1760: The Making of the Scottish Chapbook,” *Scottish Historical Review* 92 (2013): 207–30.

42. “The Maiden-Warrier” (1689?), BL, Roxburghe 2.357, EBBA 30797 (other copies: UGL, Euing 206, EBBA 31666; PL, Pepys 3.308, EBBA 21324); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 733–34; NLS, S.302.b.2(82). See also “An Excellent New Song, Intituled, Valiant Jockie His Ladies Resolution” (1700), NLS, Ry.III.a.10(26), EBBA 34251.

43. “An Excellent New Scotch Song, Call’d, The Bonny Grey-Ey’d Morn; or, Jockey Rous’d with Love” (1697), PL, Pepys 5.400; EBBA 22219 (other copies: NLS, Crawford.EB.182, EBBA 33109; BL, Rox.3.668, EBBA 31388); Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 51–52; NLS, Ry.III.a.10(30), EBBA 34255.

44. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 561–63; NLS, Ry.III.c.36(130); NLS, Ry.III.a.10(18), EBBA 34243. The tune was also employed on a Jacobite ballad, “The New Toast,” in 1715: Bod Lib, Firth b.22 (f. 14).

Similar migration northward is evident with “Bonny Katherine Ogie.” This again was a “Scotch tune” of English composition from the 1680s, later used by D’Urfey and thenceforth pressed into service on the single sheet. It entered the Scottish market with the broadside “Victory and Beauty,” a song by the English lyricist Lewis Ramondon set “to the good old tune of Catharine Ogie,” and with the ballad entitled “The New Way of Catharin Ogie.”⁴⁵ In the same way, a ballad under the title “Bonny Dundee” also appeared in Edinburgh about this time; the text bore no relation to the English broadsides “Bonny Dundee: or Jockey’s Deliverance,” and “Jockeys Escape from Bonny Dundee,” but it may have been set to the same tune.⁴⁶ Thus, if it were the case, as was claimed in 1715, that “Those with the blew bonnets split their wems in hollowing out— ‘Bonny Dundee,’ ‘Valiant Jocky,’ ‘Sawny was a Dawdy Lad,’ and ‘twas within a Furlong of Edinborough Town,’” they were singing tunes of English provenance that were Scottish only by adoption.⁴⁷

In this way, therefore, the broadside ballad provided a conduit for the transmission of “Scotch tunes” north of the border as well as a stimulus to the invention of a new and independent repertoire in Scotland. And what this medium was doing at the lower end of the market, the songbook was providing for a more genteel audience. The anthology of Scots songs was another product of the publishing renaissance occurring in Edinburgh during the early eighteenth century. Between 1706 and 1711, James Watson printed *A Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems Both Ancient and Modern* in three volumes, and in 1718 Allan Ramsay issued his *Scots Songs* for which tunes were soon supplied in Alexander Stuart’s companion music book and William Thomson’s *Orpheus Caledonius*.⁴⁸

Such publications included in their pages many tunes that began life in England as theatrical or broadside ballad songs, and by the end of the eighteenth century had become thoroughly naturalized as “Caledonian airs.” Thus, “Over the Hills and Far Away” was confirmed as a Scottish melody by the inclusion of a version in Ramsay’s *Tea-Table Miscellany* (1723–27) and its reproduction thereafter in many similar compilations.⁴⁹ Despite being cited on several English broadside ballads before 1640 and included in *The English Dancing Master* of 1651, the tune of “The Bonny Broom,” or “The Broom of Cowdenknows,” was adopted by the Edinburgh ballad printers as well

45. BL, C.121.g.9(183); “The Clans Lamentations” (1715?), BL, Roxburghe 3.336, EBBA 31057; “The New Way of Catharin Ogie” (1701?), NLS, Ry.III.a.10(28), EBBA 34253; Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 54–55; ODNB, s.v. “Ramondon, Littleton [Lewis],” by Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, last modified 2004, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/65886.

46. “Bonny Dundee,” NLS, Ry.III.a.10(31), EBBA 34256; NLS Crawford.EB.1334, EBBA 34062; PL, Pepys 5.262, EBBA 22097; “Jockey’s Escape from Bonny Dundee” (1750?), HEH, 289755, EBBA 32478; Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 49–51.

47. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 50–51. “Sawny is a Bonny Lad” was composed by Peter Motteux and Henry Purcell.

48. *A Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems Both Ancient and Modern*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1706–11); Alexander Stuart, *Musick for Allan Ramsay’s Collection of Scots Songs* (Edinburgh, [1725]); *Orpheus Caledonius: or, a Collection of the Best Scotch Songs set to Musick* (London, [1725]).

49. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 561–63.

as by Ramsay and Stuart in the 1720s and effectively domesticated in north Britain. By the time David Herd edited his *Ancient and Modern Scots Songs* in 1769, for example, and still less when Joseph Ritson issued his *Scotish Songs* in 1794, few would have paused to question the Caledonian credentials of this piece of English invention.⁵⁰ Of many other well-known tunes that became adopted by the Scots and made their own, the same could be said, such as “I’ll Never Love Thee More,” “Nanny O,” “Peggy I Must Love Thee,” and “Up with Aley.”⁵¹



One conclusion suggested by an analysis of the depiction of Scotland and the Scots in English broadside ballads between the union of the crowns and the second Jacobite rebellion is the sheer cultural impact of this medium. Broadside ballads were plentiful and cheap, readily understood and easily memorable. As such, they were popular in both senses of the word: available on the streets to the majority of the population but capable of appealing to the gentle consumer no less. In this way, they were extremely well placed to influence public opinion and shape general perceptions. Their consistent use in England for the purposes of anti-Scots propaganda from the accession of James VI and I to the aftermath of Culloden demonstrates their undiminished potency as a political weapon. They helped to inculcate a notion of the perfidious “blue cap” that endured into the nineteenth century. At the same time, however, their evocation of an idealized “north country” was instrumental in crystallizing a very different image of Scotland and its people. The chimera of a primitive and pastoral Caledonia was well developed in the English psyche long before the tourists of the Romantic era discovered the Highlands.

More remarkable still is the way in which the English broadside ballad helped to shape the cultural capital of Scotland itself. The attitude of the Presbyterian kirk and the strict control of the press succeeded in inhibiting the development of secular music north of the border for much of the seventeenth century. Only in the two generations after about 1680 were influences from the south allowed to make good some of this deficiency. Through single sheets and songbooks of their own, the Scots were quickly able to adopt, disseminate, and then naturalize a range of imported lyrics and tunes. Part of the identity and the persona that Scotland reflected to the world in the eighteenth century and beyond was actually the product of an English imagination, and in that process of self-fashioning, the broadside ballad played no small part.

50. NLS, Ry.III.a.10(7), EBBA 34221; Bod Lib, Harding B.4(20); NLS, MS.2960, fol. 88; NLS, Ry.III.a.1(21), EBBA 34246; [David Herd], *The Ancient and Modern Scots Songs, Heroic Ballads, &c.* (Edinburgh, 1769), 17–19; [Joseph Ritson], *Scotish Songs*, 2 vols. (London, 1794), 2:245–46; Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 68–71.

51. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 355–57, 505–7, 573–75, 728–30.

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